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ABSTRACT

A study examined the shift from standard spoken Japanese to dialect and compared it to the shift from formal to informal forms, within the context of several theories of code-switching and style-shifting. A five-minute segment was taken from a 30-minute conversation between three female native Japanese-speakers, all familiar with the Osaka dialect. The conversation was analyzed for use of the Osaka dialect (Osaka-ben), although the conversation was generally in the more standard "hyojungo." Contexts in which the dialect was used and impressions or implications created by its use are examined. It is concluded that Osaka-ben was used by the speakers when showing concern for each other, making corrections, and adding a sudden thought. In each case, the reasons for shifting to the dialect was the same as that for shifting from formal to informal usage, as explained by three theories. (Contains 8 references.) (MSE)

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Style-shifting from *hyōjungo* to Osaka-ben

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Introduction

Style-shifting and code-switching in Japanese have attracted attention from many researchers. Everything, including style-shifting from formal to informal forms (Cook, 1996; Maynard, 1993; Makino, 1983) and code-switching by bilingual speakers (Nishimura, 1995), has been researched and analyzed. Cook and Maynard, among others, have proposed theories as to what is indexed when style-shifting occurs. Rosenberger (1989), as cited in Cook (1996), reported that Japanese speakers have two basic modes of self; the spontaneous mode of self and the disciplined mode of self. Cook then linked the disciplined and spontaneous modes of self to formal and informal forms, respectively. Maynard (1993) suggested that when a speaker becomes less aware of the interlocutor, the speaker tends to use informal forms rather than formal. Makino (1983) posited his "Principle of Speaker-Orientation," where an utterance is marked with informal forms if it is highly speaker-oriented. In this paper, I hope to show that the shift from a standard language to a dialect also falls along the same lines as shifting from formal to informal forms. Specifically, that the reason a Japanese speaker shifts from the standard language to their native dialect can also be explained by using each of Cook, Maynard and Makino's theories.

Data base:

For this research, a five-minute conversation was analyzed. It was taken from a 30-minute recorded conversation between three female, native Japanese speakers,

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Fumiko, Yuki and Mika. They were asked to record their conversation with a tie-clip mike that was placed between them. The conversation took place on a Friday evening at Mika's house, in front of a fire, where they had gathered for their weekly get-together. Yuki and Fumiko grew up in Osaka and moved to Seattle in their mid-twenties. Mika grew up in Yamaguchi prefecture, then moved to Kyoto for four years to go to college and since has lived in Seattle for about three years. So although she did not grow up in Osaka, she is very familiar with the western dialects, of which the Osaka dialect is the largest. All three women were between 26 and 30 years of age and were living in Seattle at the time the conversation took place.

Methodology:

After transcribing the conversation, I had a follow-up conversation later with Fumiko to confirm the topics of conversation and other situational details. I also had a native Japanese speaker check over the transcript for mistakes and other parts I had missed. After integrating those changes into a detailed transcript, to determine what in the conversation was Osaka dialect and what was standard Japanese, I had another native Osaka dialect speaker check over the transcript and note where words of the dialect appeared. She also explained what was meant in each utterance to make sure I would not misunderstand the meaning or impression of the dialect words.

Theoretical Framework:

Cook (1996) first linked Rosenberger's theory of the spontaneous and disciplined mode of self as being expressed through the use of informal and formal forms, respectively, in her research on how children indexed the modes of self. She linked these modes to the *uchi* 'inside' and *soto* 'outside' social contexts in Japan.

> "In the *uchi* context the Japanese behave intimately, privately, and in a relaxed manner revealing their true feelings, whereas in the *soto* context they are public, concerned with surface appearance (i.e., *omote*) and with social obligations (i.e., *giri*, *tatamae*). In the *uchi* context, one's mode of self is spontaneous and in the *soto* context, it is disciplined" (1996: 193).

So while a speaker was functioning in the spontaneous mode of self, he/she would be more likely to be relaxed and reveal his/her true feelings and those utterances would be more likely to include informal forms.

Maynard's explanation of how and why formal to informal style-shifting occurs resulted in her postulation of a low awareness situation and a high awareness situation (1993). Low and high awareness refers to the level of the speaker's awareness of his/her interlocutor(s). If a speaker has a high awareness of his/her listener(s), then his/her speech is likely to include formal forms. Conversely, informal forms are more likely to be used if a speaker has a low awareness of his/her listener(s). Situations of low awareness can include when the speaker states a sudden recollection, self-addressed utterances, jointly created utterances, giving background information and/or when the speaker "express social familiarity and closeness" (1993: 179). Maynard states that "only when the awareness of the other momentarily lapses that naked abrupt utterances are made" (1993: 178).

Makino (1983) proposed a similar theory, the "Principle of Speaker-Orientation," which accounted for formal to informal style-shifting. Makino termed highly speaker-oriented utterances to include the circumstances of when a speaker immediately reacts to an interlocutor's utterance, when a speaker reveals a belief that has been held for a long time, or when a speaker produces a sentence that represents his/her "private belief, conviction or opinion" (1983:142). In general, Makino states that when a statement is very subjective, then it is termed highly speaker-oriented.

In this paper, I propose that these three theories could also account for the style-shifting from standard Japanese to the Osaka dialect during a conversation held in standard Japanese by native speakers of that dialect. In Table 1 below, I have outlined how such correlation would work. The Osaka dialect would correspond to the same circumstances as the spontaneous mode of self, a low awareness situation and a speaker-oriented utterance. I would hypothesize in the same manner, that the standard language would index the disciplined mode of self, a high awareness situation and a listener-oriented utterance. However, this is outside the scope of this analysis, so it will remain a hypothesis.

Table 1.

	Formal forms (**Standard language**)	Informal forms (**Dialect**)
Cook	Disciplined mode of self	Spontaneous mode of self
Maynard	High awareness situation	Low awareness situation
Makino	Listener-oriented utterance	Speaker-oriented utterance

Research on dialects seems to agree that sometimes using a particular language or dialect is a better way of showing a specific part of one's personality. Therefore, using a dialect can be a way for the speaker to show their particular identity and personality. Style-shifting is changing the way a person speaks in order to show something out of the ordinary or particular. A dialect, being a variation of a language, is just the tool to use to achieve such a goal. Wardhaugh states that "codeswitching is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross or destroy group boundaries; to create, evoke or change interpersonal relations with their rights and obligations" (1996: 103). So in general, using a dialect instead of the standard language is a way to associate oneself with others of the same dialectal group by showing shared common ground.

Results of Analysis:

In the four-page transcript used for this research, seven occurrences of the use of the Osaka dialect (called "Osaka-ben") were recorded. During the follow-up conversation, Fumiko told me that they had decided prior to the conversation to use *hyojungo*, or standard Japanese, so it would be easier for me to understand what was said. However, Fumiko also said that they found it very difficult to continue using *hyojungo* at times, and that they did end up using Osaka-ben. Looking through the transcript, their native dialect did find its way into the conversation. I first became aware of these occurrences because they were words I could hear and understand, but

not recognize as any Japanese words I knew. Essentially, having experience with only *hyojungo*, this was not unexpected.

Within the five minutes of the transcribed conversation, Osaka-ben appears in seven utterances. In each utterance, words of Osaka-ben have replaced the *hyojungo* words. The first of these occurs approximately a minute into the transcript. The three women are talking at Mika's house, in front of a fire in the fireplace, which can be heard crackling in the background of the tape. They have been talking about what they did that day and then the subject of conversation turns to the fire.

(1)

Y: Sugoi hi ga aru no ((laughs)) (.) mo faiya: nattemasu
That's a big fire ((laughs)) (.) the fire's already going strong – flaring up

F: Faiya: nattemasu
{*Yes*} *the fire is really going*

M: Fumi-chan samui **chau**. ((Osaka-ben in **bold**))
Fumi, are you cold?

In *hyojungo*, Mika could have just said "Fumi-chan samui?" Essentially, both utterances carry the same grammatical meaning. However, Mika adds a feeling or impression to her question by the way she states it.

First of all, Mika's use of "chan" attached to Fumiko's name implies closeness between the two. It is a marker of affection frequently used by people who care about each other. In this excerpt, Mika is concerned for Fumiko's comfort and she asks a spontaneous question. It is her natural self showing concern for her friend's situation. Her utterance therefore comes out using Osaka-ben, signaling she

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empathizes with Fumiko. This instance corresponds with the familiarity and closeness of the low awareness situation, as well as the relaxed manner and show of true feelings, in this case, concern, on the part of Mika.

The second instance where Osaka-ben is found is only two turns after the first. Since this utterance is also produced by Mika, it is not a style-shift but a continuation of her use of Osaka-ben.

(2)

M: Fumi-chan samui **chau**.
Fumi, are you cold?

F: [U::n daijoubu (.) daijoubu
No, I'm fine. I'm fine.

M: [(Kocchi no hou ga) attakai kamo **shiren de**.
It might be warm{er} over here.

Mika makes an indirect suggestion that maybe if Fumiko is cold, then she should move over to where Mika is because it is warm. She is still showing her true feelings, her concern, and so her utterance contains Osaka-ben.

This is also the first case of what I call 'spurts' of Osaka-ben. During the transcribed conversation, there are two instances where the Osaka-ben noted follows almost immediately after a previous usage of the dialect. These 'spurts' can be accounted for by speech accommodation, where the speaker shifts his/her style of speech to match his/her interlocutor's style. However, it can also be explained by what Allen Bell (1984) calls "audience design." In audience design, the "speakers accommodate primarily to their addressee" (1984:145). This means that the speaker designs their speech style specifically to their interlocutor(s). For example, Copeland

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(1984, as cited in Bell, 1984), gives the example of a travel assistant who shifts her speech style to match her customers in pronunciation and politeness

In excerpt (2), Mika has not shifted her speech style, she has continued it. Because she is concerned for Fumiko (as shown through her initial question in excerpt (1) and her suggestion in (2)), she shapes her style of speech to one that she believes will give Fumiko the most positive impression. Mika knows that Fumiko's native form of speech is Osaka-ben; it is what she is most comfortable with. Therefore, I believe that Mika continues the use of the dialect because she feels that it is the best way to show her sincere concern.

The next occurrence of Osaka-ben is about a minute later in the transcript. Previously, Mika had asked Fumiko if she could borrow Fumiko's library/student card to check out books at Suzzallo library. Fumiko agrees and begins to search for the card in her wallet. When it begins to look like she does not have it with her, Yuki jumps in with some advice using Osaka-ben.

(3)

F: hhsst. chotto matta
hhsst. wait just a little

M: Kibi[shii::
That's harsh

Y: [Arimasu ka?
Do you have it now?

M: Nakattara (1.8)
If you don't have it…

F: Sutudento (.)
Student

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Y: Futsu wa saifu no naka ni iretoku **mon** desu.
Usually you should keep it in your wallet

F: Kyou oite kita yappari=
I left it at home today, just as I thought

M: =Ah honto
Oh really?

Yuki's statement could almost be a reprimand; it is not simply advice. However, the potentially threatening utterance is softened with Osaka-ben because it indicates once again, a close relationship between Yuki and Fumiko. So then it can be taken as friendly advice. This closeness is considered by Maynard to be one circumstance of a low awareness situation. With respect to Makino's principle, Yuki's utterance is also an opinion of her own. Her utterance reflects what she believes is the best thing to do.

Later in the conversation, there is a pause during which Fumiko remembers something in her own experience that relates to the current topic. They have been talking about library loans at Fumiko and Mika's universities. Fumiko begins to tell of her experience, and again, she uses Osaka-ben at the beginning by linking together 'kono' and 'aida'.

(4)

F: U:nnn (1) **konaida** hajimete ano:: (.) suzaro o tsukatta
Hmm. (1) the other day, the first time ah (.) that I used Suzzallo

M: Ah soo desu ka?
Oh really?

F: Zenzen wakanakute (.) tsukai kata:
I totally didn't understand (.) how to use {the library}

M: (Oh) taihen yo ne, |(ano) hajime ne (.)| (dare) demo
(Oh) yeah, that's tough, um the first time (.) no matter who it is

One circumstance for Maynard's low awareness situation is "when the speaker exclaims or suddenly recalls something" (1993:179). This is exactly what Fumiko has done. She is not at all concerned with how her utterance sounds to Mika and Yuki; she is concerned with sharing the experience she has just remembered. The one beat pause immediately prior to her utterance and usage of Osaka-ben shows that she had a brief moment during which to think of the experience.

Fumiko goes on to tell the others about how she usually looks up books at home on her computer before she goes to the library. In excerpt (5), Mika, who attends a different university, asks Fumiko a favor and Fumiko agrees. Then again, after a short pause, Fumiko adds "having a computer at home sure is convenient, isn't it?" Not surprisingly, she uses Osaka-ben to make this last statement.

(5)

M: Gakkoo de yatteru n desu kedo | moshi iru toki wa kashite kudasai
Although I've been looking up books at school, when I need to look up books {at Suzzallo} please let me use your computer

F: |Un
Hm

F: Itsu demo doozo
Sure anytime

M: Ee
Thanks

F: U::n (1.5) **yappa(na)** uchi ni compyuta aru to raku ne
Sure (1.5) having a computer at home sure is convenient, isn't it?

M: Raku desu ne, (.) nn
Yeah, it sure is (.) hmm

Fumiko adds a relevant piece of information, her opinion, to the current topic of conversation. Just as in excerpt (4), the Osaka-ben indicates that what she has said is a new recollection. The 1.5 beat pause before her utterance is again evidence that she had a moment to organize this opinion in her head. In this case, though her statement is not crucial to the ongoing conversation, she marks it with Osaka-ben. This is another circumstance stated by Maynard to mark a low awareness situation; "when the speaker presents information semantically subordinate in nature i.e., backgrounded information" (1993: 179). This also follows Makino and Cook's hypothesis in how Fumiko expresses her own opinion in a relaxed manner with friends.

Only two turns later there is another occurrence of Osaka-ben, which can also be explained by speech accommodation. Previously, Fumiko makes a statement using Osaka-ben and Mika agrees with her. Then in Mika's next turn, she adds Osaka-ben to her utterance, shifting her way of speech to match Fumiko's previous usage of Osaka-ben.

(6)

F: U::n (1.5) **yappa(na)** uchi ni compyuta aru to raku ne
Sure (1.5) having a computer at home sure is convenient, isn't it?

M: Raku desu ne, (.) nn
Yeah, it sure is (.) hmm

F: Nn [un un
Yeah, yeah

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M: [Ashita (**yarana**) ashita doushitemo **ikana (a)kan** te iu no ga nai // kara ii n desu
I have to do {something} tomorrow, but it's ok {to give me the card whenever it's easiest} because it's not that I have to go {and check out the books} tomorrow

F: Un un un un
Ok, ok

Audience design is also a relevant reason for the use of Osaka-ben in this excerpt, since Mika may be shaping her utterance to what she thinks Fumiko would be most comfortable with. However, in this case, since Mika shifted only after Fumiko did, I believe that speech accommodation is a more accurate explanation.

The last use of Osaka-ben in the transcript was made by Fumiko. They have begun to talk about their respective schools and classes and Fumiko takes the floor to talk about her schedule on Monday.

(7)

F: Watashi wa getsuyoubi (.) jugyou ikko dake (.) asa
On Monday, I have only one class to go to, in the morning

Y: Yay
Yay ((a cheer))

F: De (.) yoru mata (.) archeology no kurasu ga aru **nen**. (2)
And then at night, I have my archeology class again

Y: Ee
Oh

At first, Yuki is happy for Fumiko because, as she understands, Fumiko only has one class to go to on Monday. However, Fumiko corrects her by adding the next statement, at the end of which she adds "nen" in place of the nominalizer "no."

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According to Makino, by using "no," or in this case "nen," it shows that the utterance is "something conceptually direct and close to the speaker" (1983: 138).

Again this is a case of Fumiko appealing to their common dialect, a reminder of their close friendship, to let Yuki know that it is not a reprimand. I believe that Fumiko is making her correction of Yuki's assumption sound softer by adding Osaka-ben onto the end of her utterance.

Conclusion:

In the five-minute transcript, Osaka-ben is used by the speakers when showing concern for each other, making corrections and adding a thought that has suddenly been remembered. In each of the five cases where the Osaka-ben stands alone, I have shown that the reason for the shift to the dialect is the same as the shift from formal to informal forms as explained by Cook, Maynard and Makino's theories. Although this data was only five minutes in length and contained seven occurrences of Osaka-ben, I believe it has provided a good basis from which to examine this occurrence. I believe that further research can be done to substantiate the claims made in this paper, as well as regarding the correspondence of the standard language to the disciplined mode of self, the high awareness situation and the listener-oriented utterance.

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